1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7



imagination and opened a rich life for their military conquerors. The humble farming skill of the tribesmen of North America's eastern seaboard sustained religious exiles until they could live off the land and create their own type of commonwealth. The Indian and his culture were soon plowed under, but they enriched a soil which otherwise would never have produced the lavish harvest of Pan-American civilization.

The most violent clash between the Indians and the Europeans took place in the Valley of Mexico during the early summer of 1520, when Cortes and his Spaniards achieved the Conquest of Mexico and overthrew the Aztec civilization, the most advanced Indian culture at that time. Cortes' success was the loadstone which drew to the Americas the iron might of Europe. Stone could not withstand steel, and the days of the Indian were numbered. The history of the Aztecs and their forebears is a synopsis of the rise of Indian civilization and its doom.

The Aztecs were a populous group of independent Indian tribes who occupied a restricted section of central Mexico. Their history and social customs are better known than their neighbors' because their conquest had such a far-reaching significance for the European world. Spanish observers of military, priestly and civil status wrote careful accounts of the Aztec life and history, and Indian authors a generation later augmented these records, drawing on the tribal lore still only thinly veneered by Christianity. A few pictographic records, either prepared before the Conquest or copied afterward, are precious additions to the Aztec annals. However, our chief data on Indian history come from archaeology, that branch of research which recovers social his-

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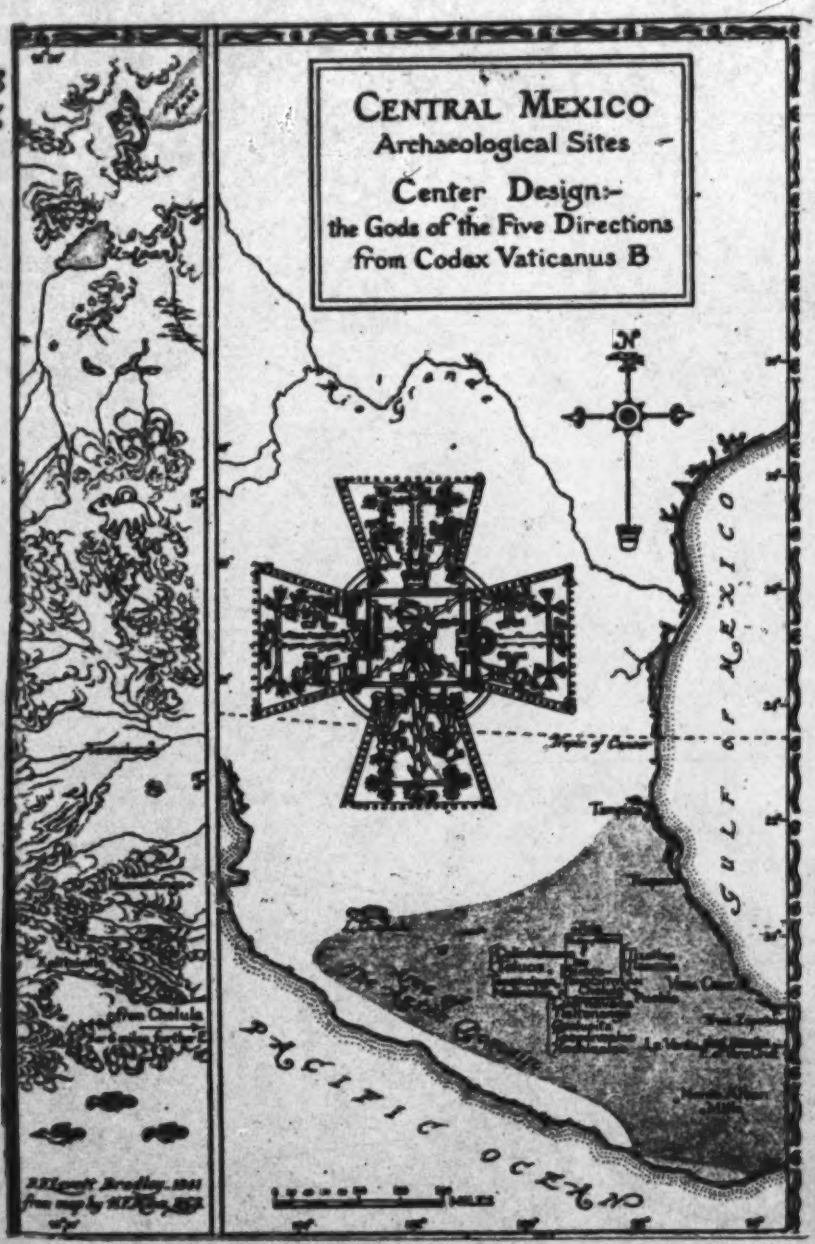


[END PAPER MAP (B)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

# I. INTRODUCTION

## Nature of the Present Study

The present paper is the first part of a study of the empire that Cortés invaded when he set foot at Vera Cruz in 1519. This is the empire wrongly called "Aztec"—a term which the writer has considered elsewhere[1] and for which he proposes to substitute the name "Culhua Mexica." This and a second paper, to be published later, deal with the geographical extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica and with its division into tributary provinces. All towns that can be proved to have been subject to the Valley of Mexico in 1519 will be dealt with in the two parts of this study of Culhua Mexica. Later and more detailed portions of the larger study consider this vast Empire chronologically: how and when it came to reach its final dimensions, who dominated it at the outset and who toward the end, and so forth. The present mapping of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica is a necessary preliminary to the historical studies (in the form of local histories) which are to follow, and which are the writer's chief aim.

Great exactness is possible in mapping the Empire (see map at end of book), because of one monumental document, the *Matricula de Tributos;* its bibliography is considered in the second section of this Introduction. It is the original native tribute list, in which the payment exacted from the provinces was recorded; it is the official bookkeeping ledger of the Empire, a hardheaded, realistic document. The *Matricula* is shaped like a book, in which hieroglyphs for various towns—ranging in number from two to nearly thirty—of a province are

[1] R. H. Barlow, "Some Remarks on the term 'Aztec Empire,'" *The Americas* (1945), 1: 344–345.

This empire was the product of a Triple Alliance among three tribes settled in the Valley of Mexico. These three tribes differed in religion, in customs, and doubtless in many other things. Their names were the Tepaneca, the Acolhuaque, and the Mexica. (The Mexica were subdivided into Tenochca and Tlatelolca.) The chief towns of each during the period of the Empire—roughly speaking, the century before the Spaniards came—were Tlacopan [Tacuba], Texcoco, and Mexico-Tenochtitlan (with Mexico-Tlatelolco active from 1428 to 1473). In 1519, the end of the native period, the Mexica of Tenochtitlan had quite overshadowed their allies, so that it is proper to call the Empire of the final period—which is the period of the present study—the Empire of the Mexica or Mexicans. But more exactly, it should be called the Empire of the Culhua Mexica, for reasons I have set forth in the above-cited paper. It is hopelessly erroneous to call it the Aztec Empire, for although the name Aztec was once applied to the Culhua Mexica, at the start of their history, they had discarded it long before founding their capital city.

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[632] [114] 131 *Anecuilco* (near Çeuctla) is added on the authority of the sixteenth-century relación of this and of the following town. (These two are included in the province of Çihuatlan somewhat arbitrarily, in the interest of symmetrical disposition.) Anecuilco and its companion Citlaltomaua "tributaban al rrey que era de Mexico que se llamava Monteçuma."[5] It lay behind the high mountains east of Citlaltomaua [491] (whose location is considered below), eight leagues of "muy mal [133] camino ... de muchas bueltas" distant.[6] The river upon which it was situated sprang from the sierra of Tlacatepetl, taking the name of Xiquipila in its lower reaches from another pueblo on its banks, and emptying in the southeast into the "playa y boca que dizen de Nagualan." A tributary of this river was called the Nexatl.[7] All of these names save that of the sierra Tlacatepetl have disappeared. However, since Citlaltomaua lay on the Río Coyuca (as appears below), this other river springing from the Tlacatepetl must be the present Río Papagallo. The Río Sabana, which is the only other possibility, has a source nearer the coast than the sierra mentioned. The rest of Anecuilco's location depends on that of Citlaltomaua.

*Apancalecan* may be either the Atenchancaleca of Gaspar Xuarez,[8] two leagues from "the Villa" (Zacatula), or Echancaleca (No. 863 of the same document), one league from the Villa. (All three names [103] mean "Place of the Owners of Houses by the Sea.") In any case, like [101] Zacatula, it appears too far east on the accompanying map.

*Citlaltomaua* was eight leagues from the sea, seven from Coyuca [491] de Benítez (d) and seventeen "leguas de muy malos caminos de Acapulco, azia el sueste." It lay to the south of the high and broken mountains of the Tlacatepetl. Two leagues below it a river was formed which emptied "en la mar del sur en la playa que dizen de Coyuca." An estancia of Citlaltomaua, the only one of these names (except for the sierra of Tlacatepetl) which can be found today, lay about "una legua hazia el nascimiento del sol." This was called Tepetiztla (e)[9] and appears as "Tepetixtla" on some maps today, others giving it as "Tepetlixpa."

[5] *PNE*, 6: 158.
[6] *PNE*, 6: 165.
[7] *PNE*, 6: 160.
[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 854.
[9] *PNE*, 6: 155–159.

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632 131 Sánchez was right at the Bay of Cihuatenejo, and it appears there in a manuscript map of *circa* 1760." The other pueblo, His Majesty's, appears on the "Guerrero State Map" of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, being situated on the Río Rincon. By means of the Salinas de Camotlán, which appear on both this latter map and the "Millionth Map," we see that this Río Rincon is the Río Ixtapan of the "Millionth Map," though the pueblo is omitted here. It is this Ixtapan belonging to His Majesty which has been selected as probably identical with the pre-Hispanic town, both because it gave its name to the Río and Punta de Iztapa (a), a promontory which may be found on most maps, and because it was reserved for His Majesty, a fact implying a special desirability and importance.

*Çacatulan* lay one league south of modern Zacatula, near the mouth [101] of the Río de las Balsas. (On the accompanying map, it appears too far east.)

*Çihuatlan* (Çiguatlan de Salzedo and Panotlan), which gave its name to the province, is missing from all available maps. It might have been any of three vanished towns, but the one which seems most probable is Çiguatlan de Salzedo. This lay thirty leagues from Zacatula, near the sea, and bordering Pamutla and Nusco—the modern Nuxco, near Tecpan. Çiguatlan and Panutla, or Pamutla, lay on the same river five leagues from Tecpan." Judging by the distances east of Zacatula assigned to other localizable towns (Jolochuca, 22; Coyuca—Coyuquilla—28; Nuxco, 33; and Tecpan, 35), this river is the modern San Luís. Çiguatlan de Salzedo may be San Luís de la Loma today. In any case, according to the relación of Zacatula, Çiguatlan was divided from Panotlan only by a river ("entre estos dos pueblos está el río"). For that reason, it has been given the same number, 9.

Çiguatlan de Salzedo lay right in the middle of the province, which is the writer's reason for identifying it as the old cabecera, despite the claims of two remoter homonyms."

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[36] Bancroft Library, University of California, MS map F 1226 176-, G. 9. The author is Santos Alonso Guerra.

[37] "Relación de Zacatula," *Tlalocan*, 2: 261; *PNE* (*Suma*), 1: No. 901.

[38] The other possibilities are Çigua (*PNE*, 1: No. 864) and Çiguatlan de Su Magestad (*PNE*, 1: No. 883). Çigua extended between Zacatula and the sea. Çiguatlan de Su Magestad lay seventeen leagues from the Villa and four from the sea. (It bordered

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—There is little material available on the languages, although Zacatula is said to have been "idioma por si,"[a] and in the northeastern prolongation Tepuzteco was spoken by the people of Citlaltomaua and Anecuilco. The inhabitants called themselves Tepuztecas, which meant "people from a place of abundant copper."[b] Other Tepuzteco villages are noted in the section on Tepequacuilco, below. It will be observed that this Tepuzteco is adjacent to the equally unknown Yope. In Tepetiztla and other near-by places, however, a tongue that was not Tepuzteco was spoken.[c] Between the western and eastern extremes of this province there may well have been intrusions of Tarascan and Cuitlatec, presumed to have been spoken along the northwest and northeast, in territory extending as far as the borders of Tepuzteco. (It is reported that there was a region of mingled Cuitlatec and Tepuzteco five leagues west of Citlaltomaua.)[d]

Besides Tepuzteco and Cuitlatec, a mosaic of vanished languages underlay the (pre-Mexican) Nahuatl of the province, according to the "Relación de Zacatula." The data of this relación are presented acceptably on Brand's map.

Of Cuitlatec a few fragments have been preserved, owing to the initiative of P. R. Hendrichs. It is definitely stated that this language was spoken in Axochitlan, and it still survives faintly in the memory

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Coyuela and Piquitla [*PNE*, 1: No. 877]; the latter lay one and one-half leagues from the sea and fourteen from Zacatula, in the mountains of southern Michoacan). Against Çiguas are two facts: It lay at the far border of the known towns of the province, and it had only eleven Indians in Xuarez' time. However, the Conquest was severe and it did join colonially important Zacatula and the vast archeological zone of Melchor Ocampo (*Tlalocan*, 2: 259, notes 3 and 4). Against Çiguatlan de la Magestad is its even greater distance from the rest of the known province. However, it was obviously an important town, since it was set aside for the Crown, and the colonial province of the Motines de Zacatula, according to the relación, reached nearly to Pómaro, Michoacan. Cihuatanejo itself is of course a fourth possibility, since the *-ejo* ending is Spanish. The whole problem is one which cannot be solved dogmatically at present.

[a] García Icazbalceta, ed., [Primera] *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), 2: 592.

[b] "'Jentes que biuieron de algun lugar de mucho hierro' o 'jentes de hierro'" (*PNE*, 6: 158). Cf. glyph of Tepuztlan (Morelos): a copper hatchet.

[c] *PNE*, 6: 158.

[d] In a town called Chiuatepec, Cuitlatec territory began, "aunque entre ellos hay pueblos que hablan la misma lengua tepuzteca" (*PNE*, 6: 165).

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of a few old people of Totolapan (San Miguel). According to the "Relación de Citlaltomáua," the area in which Cuitlatec was spoken extended in the southeast as far as vanished Chiantepec,* and fragments have been recorded by Weitlaner in coastal Atoyac.

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—The borders of Çihuatlan are as unclear as its linguistic features. Zacatula must have represented approximately the westerly outpost. Somewhere in the pathless mountains all along the north of Çihuatlan was the border between this province and the Tarascans and Cuitlatec. (The Cuitlatec seem to have been an entity distinct from both their powerful neighbors, Mexican and Tarascan.) A slender link through Otlatlan (modern Otatlán), in the fellow-tributary province of Tepequacuilco, bound Çihuatlan to the Empire, and to the east lay the never-subdued Yopes.**

## TRIBUTE

In the records of tribute presented for this and the following thirty-seven provinces, the frequency of payment is indicated as follows: one asterisk, annual; two asterisks, semiannual. The few quarterly payments ("de ochenta en ochenta días") are noted.

*Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* page and its copy in the *Mendocino*, the following items of tribute were exacted from the province of Çihuatlan:

CLOTHING**

1,616 bundles* of large orange mantles
2,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth

FOOD**

80 loads of cacao bermejo

OTHER GOODS**

400 bundles of cotton
800 red seashells, like scallops

* See the preceding note. On Cuitlatec see Hendrichs, "Un estudio preliminar sobre la lengua cuitlateca de San Miguel Totolapan, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 329–362; Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *ibid.*, pp. 297–328, notes; and McQuown, "La fonémica del cuitlateco," *ibid.* (1941), 5: 239–254.

** See section on Tepequacuilco, below.

* The *Mendocino* résumé, in Spanish, has been followed throughout this study as a convenient guide on tribute. There are slight inaccuracies in the version it gives of numbers, however; the figures representing single units are consistently overlooked. Here I have corrected the figure from the erroneous "1,600."

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the one we refer to "Totoltepec de Guerrero," but alas! there are two even in Guerrero, the other being an estancia of Ayutla, now called Tutepec."[102]

*Yoallan* is the conspicuous variant in our list of names. This has become the modern Iguala. In the *Relación de Iguala* of 1579 we read: "Iguala en lengua castellana quiere decir escuridad."[103] "Escuridad" (*escuridad*) is the meaning of Yoallan, as we see in the glyph of the town: a circle studded with "stellar eyes." The Náhuatl root is *yoalli*, "night."

### NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—Of the people, Sahagún writes that they speak Mexican and are rich.[104] Tlachmalacac is the most northerly town specified to be "en la provincia que se dice Cuixco,"[105] but the Coixcatlalpan—as it was called—must have stretched even farther in that direction, since the Coixca joined Malinalco in an attack upon the Cuauhnahuac [Cuernavaca] after the latter's surrender to Cortés.[106] And to the east it must have extended beyond Tlalcoçauhtitlan in the adjacent province of that name. The latter town again is the last of which it is stated that "esta tierra se llama Coyscatlalpa y la lengua es coysca,"[107] but the people of distant Texaluca in southwest Puebla remembered in 1580 that they had served their Mexican masters by going to war against the "provinçia de Coyxco."[108]

Other towns of our province listed as speaking Cohuixca in the 1580's are Yoallan,[109] Cocolan,[110] Mayanala (14),[111] and Huitzoco.[112] Since

[101] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.
[102] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.
[103] "Estos coixcas y tlapanecas son unos que a uno solo le llaman couixcatl y tlapanécatl, y están poblados en Tepequacuilco y Tlachmalacac, en la provincia de Chilapan, los cuales hablan lengua mexicana, y son ricos" (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 133).
[104] *GPM*, p. 105.
[105] "Los naturales de una población que se dice Cuarnaguacar [*sic*] que eran sujetos á la cuidad y se habian dado por nuestros amigos, vinieron al real y dijeronme cómo los de la poblacion de Marinalco, que eran sus vecinos, les hacian mucho daño, y les destruian su tierra, y que agora se juntaban con los de la provincia de Coisco, ques grande, y querian venir sobre ellos a los matar porque se habian dado por vasallos de V.M. y nuestros amigos" (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], p. 235).
[106] *PNE*, 5: 249.
[107] *PNE*, 5: 86.
[108] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.
[109] *GPM*, p. 98.
[110] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 223: "Es lengua casi mexicana que se escrive."
[111] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[a] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[b] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[c] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
[248] 1,206 bundles[d] of little mantles of soft henequen**
[14] 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

[263] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323] 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
319] 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[a] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[b] *PNE*, 6: 263; *GPM*, p. 135.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[d] Corrected from 1,200.

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651
one from each household. These mantles were paid locally on each of 632
the eighteen fiestas of the year. Maize for tribute was grown on special lands."

## 4. Ocuilan

### SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 12 of the *Matricula* and on folio 34' of the *Codex Mendocino* 635
appears the province of Ocuilan, which now forms part of the southern 114
portion of the State of Mexico. Only the *cabecera* is identified in the former document; the latter bears all names added in roman letters. The map which has been followed in restoring the province is the [128]
1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Original and present place names are listed below:

| MENDOCINO | 1927 MAP |
|---|---|
| Coatepec, 3 | Coatepec Harinas |
| Ocuilan, 7 | [No change] |
| Tenantzinco, 6 | Tenancingo |
| Tequaloyan, 5 | Tecualoya (Villa Guerrero) |
| Tonatiuhco, 4 | Tonatico |

One town remains to be located: Çincozcac.

To this list the two westerly towns of Zoltepec (2) and Temazcaltepec (1) have been added, on the authority of their sixteenth-century relaciones."

### REMARKS ON TOWNS

*Çincozcac* is cited by Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528) 632
as Zicozcatlan, a town figuring in Ahuizotl's Guerrero campaigns. 175
103
The proper form *Zoltepec*, from *zollin*, "quail," has been restored with the authority of these relaciones."

### NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—Sahagún" tells us that "those who are 197
called Ocuiltecos live in the region of Toluca, on their lands and 101
boundaries. They have the same ways and customs of those of Toluca,

" *PNE*, 6: 276: "Tributaban al rey de México y generalmente daban mantas de tres braças de largo y una bara de ancho, de algodon, y entre dos tributarios casados un guipil y unas enaguas .... Hazian una sementera grande entre todo el pueblo e lo que della cozian lo juntauan estos governadores y la dauan cada año a Monteçuma, y las mantas dauan de veynte a veynte dias."

" "Relación de Zultepec": "heran subjetos a los rreyes de México a los quales tributavan." "Relación de Temazcaltepec": "eran en tiempo de su gentilidad subjetos a un señor de Mexico." *PNE*, 7: 11 and 20.

" *PNE*, 7: 101-"por los muchos codornices que ay se nombraron asi."

" *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 128.

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but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner, who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[**] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[**]

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—In the final native period the province of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen[**]
400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells[**]
400 bundles of little cotton mantles[**]
21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
2,000 vessels of white salt[**]

*Tribute of the component towns.*—Temazcaltepec alone gave military help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teonecatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they were asked."[**] No data are available on the tribute of other component towns individually.

[**] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[**] In Tlachinoltícpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[**] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavaale cada vez que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se hace de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan engue con que senbo-

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103 Valle de Bravo (12) and Villa Victoria (13) have likewise been added.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 [114] *Miteper* is given in the usually reliable *Mendocino* interpretation, but no trace of such a town has been found. On the other hand, "Tlacotepec" (the *Matricula* version) is well known, and appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, who took all of this region. Tlacotepec, therefore, has been placed on the map.

*Teotenanco* retained its name as late as 1582, as we see in the relación of that year.[200] Most of these *teo-* prefixes have been dropped, or supplanted by *huey-*, as remarked above.[201]

*Tepemaxalco* appears in 1582 as a town a league north of Teotenanco.[202] In the 1921 census it figures as a pueblo of the Municipio de San Antonio la Isla. However, only the latter (as La Isla) is on the 1927 map.

*Valle de Bravo* has been added from Brand's Tarascan map.

*Villa Victoria* is likewise added from Brand.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 197 [782 103] *Inhabitants and languages.*—The name of the province (Matlatzinca) and its people (who did not speak Mexican, but an Otomían language) seems to have come from *matlatl*, "net." Sahagún tries out various etymologies[203] and finally decides that "they are called net [people] ... because when they sacrificed anyone to their idol they threw him into a net, and there twisted and squeezed him in the said net until his intestines came out." The Matlatzinca are sometimes included among the Eight Tribes whom the Culhua Mexica met at the start of their migration. Matlatzinca-speakers were scattered far into Michoacan, where the village of Charo, northeast of Morelia, was still called San Miguel de Charo Matlatzinco in the eighteenth century. Westerly contacts and migrations were continued in the latter part of the fifteenth century, as has been mentioned above. The most southerly point in which the Matlatzinca have been noted by the writer is Cocolan, in the province of Tepequacuilco, where their tongue was spoken jointly with Cohuixco in the 1580's.[204]

[200] *RHE*, 7: 1–7. [201] *RHE*, 7: 4. [202] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 222.
[203] See p. 23 above. [204] *Op. cit.*, III: 127.

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the respective names as "Tequepa," "Teacalhu," and "Mimiapan."[8] Since Tecpan was within the province of Quahuacan and lay on the path of conquest between Quauhtitlan and Huitzilapan,[9] it is not difficult to place approximately.[10]

*Tlalachco* has also disappeared, though it survived in early colonial days as "Talasco"—a pueblo bordering the limits of Toluca[11] and Huitziçilapa.[12] Sr. Jiménez Moreno suggests that it be identified with Atarasquillo.

*Tlalatlauhco* I have identified with the modern Xalatlaco. Under the name of "Xalatlauhco" it appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, just preceding Quappanohuayan and Ocoyacac, both near neighbors, as we see. *Xalli*, "sand," and *tlalli*, "earth," are words that tend to become confused, as is evident in the ancient name form of Tlatelolco, which began as "Xaltelolco."[13]

### NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—In the province of Quahuacan, Otomí[14] and Matlatzinca[15] seem to have been the indigenous tongues of the north and south respectively. Politically, the whole province was old Tepanec territory.

Specifically mentioned among the towns subject to Tlacopan are:

Atlapulco, 11
Capulhuac, 12
Coatepec, 14
Cuauximalpan, 7
Chichicquauhtla, 4
Huizquilocan, 5
Tlalatlauhco, 13

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—Quahuacan was surrounded by other Empire provinces—to the north Xocotitlan and Atotonilco, to the east those of the Valley of Mexico, to the south Ocuilan, and to the west Tuluca.

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[8] These places are identified by the writer in his forthcoming chronological paper.
[9] Cf. preceding note.
[10] Tecpan is perhaps the original seat of the Tepaneca, who later ruled from Azcapotzalco.
[11] *FNE*, 1: No. 561.
[12] *FNE*, 1: No. 782.
[13] Cf. E. Mengin, ed., *Unos anales históricos de la nación mexicana* (1939); Vargas Rea, ed., *Códice dado por el emperador Quauhtemotzin ... en 1523* (1943).
[14] *FNE*, 1: No. 782.
[15] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribución prehispánica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—The inhabitants of present-day Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco speak Mazahua and Otomí[28]—a fact in harmony with Ixtlilxochitl's remarks concerning these people at the time of their incorporation into the Empire.[29]

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—Xocotitlan was a prolongation of the Empire frontier towards Michoacan, exposed to attack from the west and north. East of it lay the province of Quahuacan.

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xocotitlan is given as follows:

CLOTHING

400 little mantles of embroidered henequen[30]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)[31]

*Tribute of the component towns.*—Xocotitlan (like the other diminutive province of Malinalco) gives us figures—lacking from most of the relaciones—for the tribute derived by the Mexicans from a single town, and these figures suggest that life under Mexican rule was arduous.

## 9. Atotonilco de Pedraza

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (not to be confused with that of Atotonilco el Grande) occupied with its list of towns the verso side of a lost page of the *Matricula*, as we may ascertain by the copy which forms folio 28ᵛ of the *Mendocino*.[32] It consisted of seven pueblos, of which only the cabecera survives with its original name. Despite the plethora of Atotonilcos, we may be sure of the location of this particular town and of its corresponding province because references to one other pueblo listed, Otlazpan, have been found in old documents. The

[28] Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (1937), *passim*.
[29] He puts them among Otomí, Mazahua, and Matlatzinca peoples. *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 296.
[30] See n. 111, p. 51.
[31] The lost original might be called p. 6R.

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The pueblo of Jagueyes disputed certain pastures with Otlazpan; moreover, from the reference to the dispute it is clear that Tepexic, Huehuetoca, and Otlazpan also had a common boundary at a hill called Hueytepec.[28] The *Codex Mariano Jiménez* also deals in part with the limits between Tepexic and Otlazpan. But whether we should place Otlazpan north or south of the line formed by these three pueblos is uncertain. The evidence is slightly in favor of the south.[29]

*Tepexic* figures among the towns subject to Tlacopan, in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

### NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—It would appear[30] that the people of Otlazpan and of its subject towns spoke Otomí and the related Mazahua, whereas the inhabitants of Tepexic spoke Náhuatl. This division was accompanied by an enmity the echoes of which lasted into recent times in the form of a yearly stone-fight between the youths of the two towns at a place called the "Puente de las Guerras."

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—Many of the towns of this province have not been located, but its outline is known from the boundaries of its neighbors. To the north of Atotonilco de Pedraza lay Xilotepec and Axocopan provinces, to the east Hueypuchtla and Quauhtitlan, to the south Quahuacan, and to the southwest Xocotitlan—all provinces of the Empire.

[28] AGN, Tierras 1201, last document, p. 6, is a document of the Viceroy Martin Enríquez which bears the date May 12, 1576, and reads in part: "hago merced a melchoir nuñez de vn sitio destancia para ganado menor entre los terminos de los pueblos de tepexi y utlaspa y huegetoca en vn cerro que llaman los yndios gueytepeque y en lengua castellana cerro grande a la parte del sur en vna barranca que baxa a vna quebrada grande que ba hazia san bernardino suzeto de utlaxpa." Folio 11v calls this hill "ococacaya hueytepec."

[29] Nicolás León (*Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3) gives a list of subject towns of Otlazpan—without any hint of his authority, of course—and names among them Tlautla and San Ildefonso. He also calls Otlazpan "San Juan." This would locate Otlazpan north of Tepexic. But in view of the frequent unreliability of León and his errors and oversights as editor of the *Mariano Jiménez*—he even overlooks the glyph of the town in the codex, fol. 6v, where the alcaldes are drawn with the treasure chest—more faith is probably to be placed in the Ortelius map, on which Otlazpan falls south of Tepexic. In the land dispute with Jagueyes, Otlazpan is called "San Francisco" (AGN, Tierras 1201, Cuaderno 5) and two subject ranchos are named, San Bernardino and El Maguey—undiscoverable, of course. Burial records of San Francisco [*sic*] "Ontlazpan," 1611–1615, are preserved in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois (Indian Linguistics Catalogue, No. 1468).

[30] According to León, *Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3.

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Tlachco, as we see in the "Descripción de Querétaro."[46] However, it is not really clear that Querétaro is a pre-Hispanic town. The impression given by the relación is that it was founded as a result of the Spanish invasion. And evidence that Querendaro-Tlachco is not the Tlachco of the *Matricula* is found in the same relación, in the list of "mojoneras" lying between Querétaro and Xilotepec. Tlachco, therefore, remains a puzzle.

We may add a few towns to those of the *Matricula*, and establish the western frontier of the province, on the authority of the sixteenth-century relaciones: Atlan (9), Hueichiapan (10), Nopala (8), Titlmilpa (1),[47] and Zimapan (12).[48]

### REMARKS ON TOWNS

*Acazochitla* may be found in the Secretaría de Agricultura atlas.

*Titlmilpa* seems to be the best form for the name which Orozco y Berra transcribes from the same document (in his *Geography*, p. 258) as "Tiltmilpa." Today it is Timilpan.

### NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Xilotepec was populated by the Otomí. One early writer calls them "barbarous compared to the Mexicans," but admits that they are not nomads like their Chichimec neighbors.[49] These "barbarous" people of Xilotepec Province, it should be pointed out, produced the only known codex with an Otomí (instead of a Mexican) text, possibly under the stimulus of

[46] In Primo Feliciano Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 1–48.

[47] The series appears thus in the "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí*, I: 13: "hera su mojonera con los de Xilotepec los pueblos siguientes santiago tecuçautla, sanct matheo gueichiapa, sant josepe atla," which have been located. Then follow three towns which have not been identified: "santa maria tlecululi ycatxiq san geronimo acagulcingo san lorenço tlechatitla"; and the list ends with "san andres titlmepa," the Timilpan of today. Acagulcingo seems to be better rendered in a document published by Simpson (*Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain*, Ibero-Americana [1934], No. 7, p. 48), where it is given as "San Geronimo Acagualcingo." *ENE*, 14: 119, gives "Acaualtzinco."

[48] *PNE*, 6: 3: "en tiempo de su gentilidad obedecian los naturales destos pueblos al señor de Jilotepec ... en cuyo rreconosçimiento le dauan de la caça que sacauan."

[49] "La provincia que llaman de Xilotepec, la cual es toda de indios otomis, que son barbaros en respecto de los mexicanos, y así no tienen tanta policía, y confinan con los chichimecas, que son como alárabes y estan todavia de guerra" (García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México* [1886–1892], II: 18).

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635 103 Three others remain to be found: Malinaltepec, Tecmilco, and Xocoyoltepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 [114] *Chalco* itself is the first problem, for the same name appears on a preliminary leaf which is included in the *Mendocino* copy but must have been lost from the *Matricula*. There were really four Chalcos, and the writer has chosen to identify that on page 19 of the *Matricula* with Chalco-Tlalmanalco, rather than with Chalco-Atenco. (See p. 128, where Chalco-Atenco figures in the Çitlaltepec tribute zone.)

*Malinaltepec* is mentioned in the chronicles of Chalco as a near-by place seized by Moteczuma II in 1508 or 1509.[4]

*Tecmilco* is not identifiable as a town, but I am informed by Sr. Ezequiel Linares, of Tepoztlán, Morelos, that the name lingers as that of a plain, south of Tepoztlán.

*Tepuztlan* also appears twice in the codices discussed. Here we probably deal with the well-known town near Cuernavaca; the homonym is dealt with under Huaxtepec (23). This decision is based in part on the existence of the place name Tecmilco south of Tepoztlán, Morelos.

*Xocoyoltepec* appears in the Chalcan annals as belonging especially to Axayacatl of Mexico Tenochtitlan in 1480: it was near Amaquemecan (Amecameca) and in 1606 was given to the people of San Miguel.[5]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Chalca formed one of the traditionally Náhuatl-speaking tribes supposed to have been companions during the migration period. They were closely related to the Xochimilca, whose territory they adjoined. Until a very late period they challenged Mexican power in the Valley.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Chalco (-Tlalmanalco) faced eastward on Tlaxcala, the great volcano forming a natural

[4] *Anales de ... Chimalpahin*, pp. 178 and 180.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 16 and 144.

[6] Durán, *Historia de las indios de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 111: "la generacion Chalca ... se juntó con el de Xuchimilco y partió terminos con él quieta y pacíficamente: tomó por cabeçera y principal asiento á Tlalmanalco, y de allí se dividieron ... á saber: Amecamecan, Tenango con todos los Quaxuclipas, Ayotzinco, Chalco Atenco, San Martin ... lo qual es mucho menos que lo que Xuchimilco ocupó por ser mucha mas gente la de aquel tribu que la deste otro."

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635 We know from a list of towns in this province which paid tribute
103 to Texcoco that the following towns, in addition to those given in the *Matricula*, were likewise pre-Hispanic subjects: Atlpoyecan (8), Maçatepec (10), Tlaquiltenanco (13), and Cacatepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlpoyecan* is clearly Alpuyeca.

*Amacoztitla* is almost surely the modern Amacuzac. A parallel truncation has occurred in the name Acamilyxtlahuacan (Acamixtla) in adjacent Tlachco Province.

*Chimalco*, the *Mendocino* version, is corrected to read "Panchimalco," since the glyph clearly shows a banner (*pantli*) and a shield (*chimalli*); the *Matricula* also bears the correct annotation. Moreover, there exists a town of Panchimalco today, and none called Chimalco.

*Molotla* is said, in a mid-sixteenth-century source,[8] to be a subject of Xiuhtepec.

[712] *Quauhnahuac*. That Quauhnahuac was the big Mexican garrison of the region is evident from Bernal Díaz, who speaks of it as "muy mejor y mayor" than Yauhtepec.[9] After its surrender the caciques asked his pardon for not having given in earlier, because the Mexicans had ordered resistance and augmented their garrison.[10]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Of the inhabitants, to whom the name
197 Tlalhuica is applied, Sahagún writes: "These tlalhuica are those who are settled in the hot country, and they are náhuas, of Mexican speech; in their land much cotton is produced, and aji, and all other foodstuffs."[11]

181 He goes on to say that Tlalhuicatl means "incapable, unable"—a typical bit of native arrogance—and that their defects are that "they go around too much dressed-up, and carrying flowers in their hands"

[8] *Códices indígenas* (1933), Codices 12 and 13.

[9] "Avia dentro en el mucha gente de guerra, ansi de mexicanos como de los naturales" (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40).

[10] "[El] Señor de Mexico les enbio a mandar que pues estavan en fortaleza que desde alli nos diesen guerra e que les enbio vn buen esquadron de mexicanos para que les ayudasen" (*ibid.*, p. 41).

[11] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 132.

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632 *Tetela [del Volcán]* has been placed in this province because of its linkage with Hueyapan (*q.v.*).

*Tepoztlan* is probably not the "Ciudad" northeast of Cuernavaca, which seems to figure in the province of Chalco. It may be a pueblo subject to Ahuacuozingo, Morelos.

*Xochimilcaçinco* (see Ahuehuepan, above).

*Yacapichtla* is a name already corrupt in native days. "Xihuitz acapitzalan" was the original form.[a]

*Çonpanco* may possibly be Zompahuacan, southeast of Tecpaçinco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The northern quarter of this province of Huaxtepec was part of the former domain of the Xochimilca, a tribe which peopled the regions south and west of the volcano. Towns definitely stated to have belonged to the Xochimilca of this region are Totolapan, Tlayacapan,[b] and Yacapichtla.[c] It will be noted also that a town called "Xochimilcaçinco" lies in the north-central part of this province.

West and south of the Xochimilca were the towns of another Náhua tribe—the Tlalhuica, who inhabited the territory from Huaxtepec to Quauhnahuac.[d]

The Xochimilca were Náhuatl speakers,[e] and so were the Tlalhuica.[f]

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Huaxtepec lay the fellow province of Quauhnahuac. North of it was the Mexicanized province of Chalco, once an independent state. To the east were Tlaxcala and the Empire province of Tepeyacac, extending from south of Popocatepetl to south of the other great mountain, Citlaltepetl or Orizaba. In the southeast, a miserably documented region, the province of Quiauhteopan must have formed the border.

[a] RHE, 1: 221: "es notorio esta villa de acapiztla se llama asi porque antiguamente se llamaba xihuitza capitzala porque los senores que la gobernaban trayan unos chalchiuites atravesados en las narices y que eso queria decir y como agora está la lengua corruta se dize y le llaman ayacapiztla." The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* inscriptions indicate that the corruption is ancient.

[b] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 10.

[c] RHE, 1: 225: "los que poblaron á esta villa heran como está dicho de xuchimillco."

[d] See pp. 76–77.

[e] RHE, 1: 225: The people of Yacapichtla spoke "la lengua ... de Suchimillco que aunque es mexicano difieren en algunos bocablos en ser mas cortesano e mas cortes."

[f] See pp. 76–77.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map, Tlalcoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.[a]

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—West of Tlalcoçauhtitlan lay the province of Tepequacuilco; east of it Quiauhteopán, and to the north Quauhnahuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—The yellow earth which gave its name to the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 pots of bee honey**

OTHER GOODS

20 dishes of *tecoçahuitl*, "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se enbixavan"[b]

[a] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [provincia] de Tlauhcocauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huitziltecuh, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis hateas de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas sesenta y ocho jícaras y tecomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlaculol quahuitle." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*. [1938], III: 222): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauitl, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen teponaxtles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho estos instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciada."

[b] Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 315) includes among the tribute from the Huaxteca "betun amarillo que llaman Tecuezalin y tecoxahuitl con que untan y tiñen jícaras, y ablandan manos y pies."

Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This Náhua word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from Coccus insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapanec, and Matlame.

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.[a]

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—Because half the towns of the province cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries.

*Regional names.*—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.[b]

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands:

CLOTHING

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey*

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells**
80 copper axeheads**
1 dish of little turquoises*

*Tribute of the component towns.*—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over

[a] See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

[b] *PNE*, 5: 57: "Piaxtla ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de las de la Mixteca sujetos a la dotrina de la cabacera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corruta, porque es de la provincia de Totola."

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# VII. THE MIXTEC-ZAPOTEC ZONE

IN EACH of the provinces of the vast zone we are about to consider, the cultural and linguistic groups known as Mixtec and Zapotec have flourished. There is some indication that in an earlier period the Mixtec extended beyond these provinces;[1] in any case, they and the Zapotec together provide a convenient denomination for the area, much of which fronted on still "unreconstructed" Mixtec city-states. Other cultures and languages there were, in bewildering abundance, within the same frontiers—Tlapanec, Mazatec, Cuicatec and so forth,—but the Mixtec and the Zapotec appear to have been the most advanced of all, and certainly were the best known to later times.

## 31. TEPEACAC

### SOURCES OF THE MAP

Tepeacac was a great bastion, which long resisted the imperialism of the Mexica and later, when the Spaniards came, proved to be the key to the eastern plateau. This cabecera, together with twenty-three principal towns, is represented on page 20 of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 42' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province extended across the center of southern Puebla. Its towns have been located principally on the 1908 Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora. Original name forms are compared with those of today in the following list:

| MENDOCINO | 1908 MAP |
|---|---|
| Acatzinco, 15 | [No change] |
| Coatzinco, 9 | Coatzingo |
| Chietlan, 5 | Chietla |
| Epatlan, 7 | [No change] |
| Huehuetlā, 4 | Huehuetlan |
| Nacochtlan, 8 | Necoxtla |
| Quatlatlauheā, 10 | Huatlatlauca |
| Quauhquechulan, 1 | Huaquechula |
| Quauhtinchan, 12 | Cuautinchan |
| Quechulac, 17 | Quecholac |
| Tecalco, 13 | Tecali |
| Tecamachalco | [No change] |
| Teonochtitlā, 2 | |

[1] E.g., east to Cozamaloapan and northwest to the skirts of Popocatepetl. Jiménez Moreno, "El enigma de los olmecas," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 5, N° 5 (1942), pp. 124–125.

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*Copalitech*, called "Copalitas" in the sixteenth century, was considered a seaboard town and thus anciently subject to Ayutla (*q.v.*).[96] 632

*Huitzaxola* is called "Huitzaxola" elsewhere and is said to be an estancia of [A]cuitlapan.[97]

*Tototepec*, one of many towns of this name, is not on available maps, but may be located by references. Xochitonala,[98] which must be the Tonalá of today, was "de Ayutla tres leguas y otras tres de Tututepeque."[99] The same source notes: "La estancia de Tututepeque esta tres leguas de la mar." The inhabitants of Tototepec are said to be "mexicanos que quedaron alli por guarniçion que solia tener Montecçuma." The town must have been the principal anchor of the Empire in this remote coast. 632 712 [101]

*Xocotla*, apparently, was a town three leagues from Tlapan[100] and should not be confused with the distant Yope-speaking town of the same name on the Río Papagayo. 632 131

## NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—The people of Tlapan Province bore two principal names, though they may have been one group ethnologically and linguistically. Those of the north were called Tlapaneca and those of the south Yope. Sahagún identifies the two, remarking that "these Yopime and Tlapaneca are the people of the region of Yopitzinco; they are called Yope because their district is called Yopitzinco and they are also called Tlapaneca, which means Ochre Men, because they painted themselves red . . ."[101] It should be pointed out, however, that although the people of Tlapan and Malinaltepec and the northern towns are said to speak Tlapanec, those of Tototepec and Xochitonala and the south are called Yope-speakers,[102] as if Yope were another tongue. Whether or not the Yope are to be identified with the Tla- 101 197

[96] *PNE*, 4: 257: "Declaro ser maritimo el pueblo de Copalitas por estar dos leguas de la mar, y tener vn rrio cavdaloso y una alaguna [*sic*] de pesqueria." This river has been identified with the Río Copala by the writer, "A Western Extension of Zapotec: Further Remarks," *Tlalocan* (1944), 1: 360.

[97] *GPM*, p. 106.

[98] *PNE*, 1: No. 499.

[99] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.

[100] *GPM*, p. 98.

[101] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 133. *Tlapalli* means "red" in Nāhuatl.

[102] *GPM*, p. 27.

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panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,[a] but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.[b]

The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.[c] Though the codices are still unexploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican[d] calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple, which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the province of Tialcoçauhtitlan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Tototepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

## TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—Ortega's startling discovery of the balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"[e] and its identification by Toscano

[a] On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45–72, and Schultze Jena, *Indiana III* (1938).

[b] The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60–61).

[c] See Toscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127–136.

[d] That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

[e] Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atlatlaucca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloca in the very heart of the province (Tamaçulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).

In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.

Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,* and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Moctezuma, Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not actually subjected) zones to the north, the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states** to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated**
400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white**
400 bundles of black-and-white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts**
2 warriors' costumes together with shields*

* *Códice de Yanhuitlán.*
** Such as Puctla, Zacatepec, and others the relaciones of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—The northern part of this province was the heart of the Tepanec zone. The Tepanec tribe is assumed—with little proof—to have been Náhuatl-speaking. To the south were two other conquered tribes of better-known affiliation, the Chalca and Xochimilca, mutually related.

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—South of Petlacalco lay the sterile lava flows which separated it from the province of Chalco (Chalco-Tlalmanalco, not Chalco-Atenco), a province curving down through the mountain passes to Tepoztlan. To the west was the province of Quahuacan, and to the north Quauhtitlan, both at one time Tepanec strongholds. Eastward lay the lake provinces of Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco.

*Regional names.*—At least the zone around Petlacalco itself belonged to the former Tepanecapan—the Tepanec area subject (until 1428) to Azcapotzalco.

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—The following materials were collected by the tribute gatherers to Petlacalco:

CLOTHING*

65 warriors' costumes with shields
2,400 loads of mantles of "twisted" cloth
800 loads of colored mantles
400 loads of loincloths
400 loads of women's clothing

FOOD*

1 bin of beans
1 bin of chian
2 bins of huauhtli

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the Franciscan version, as embodied for example in Sahagún, makes no mention of it. Since some of the "sources" place the Aztecs on Lake Pátzcuaro at one stage of their wanderings, it is amusing, in this work that started from limnologic experience on that lake, to consider that Aztlán may have been the island of Janicho. Certainly the possibility cannot be dismissed that Pátzcuaro was in the mind of the acculturated artist who drew the picture.

If Aztlán had no more reality than the artificial lake at Tula, the delightful possibility arises that the name *Aztec* itself is a chimaera. Clark (1938) actually takes this position, and it is true that the inhabitants of Tenochtitlán were Tenochca, the speakers of Nahuatl were Nahua, and we are left with *Aztec* as a book-name that is conveniently applied to a culture. Barlow (1945) accepted the tradition, found in most of the post-Conquest sources, that the Aztecs changed their name to Mexica when they learned to worship Huitzilopochtli, and he therefore preferred "Empire of the Culhua Mexica" to "Aztec Empire" for the political unit of the late 15th and early 16th centuries. What is reasonably clear is that the etymology of the name was a late invention. The basis of the name *Aztlán*, which means "near the [place of the] egret", was probably a glyph containing an egret, or an egret-feather ornament. Doubtless it was through some long-forgotten pun that the name came to be associated with the word *Aztec*. Remembering that the pun need not have arisen in the Nahuatl language, but could have been in Mixtec, we can hardly hope to recover the ultimate ancestry of Aztec culture from etymology, particularly when the supposed sources so obviously confuse the derivation of words with the derivation of peoples.

But if we cannot prove that the Aztecs sprang from an island in a lake, we cannot deny that that is where they lived and died. The remarkable people who harvested salt-flies and practiced water-bug husbandry, who piped fresh water and farmed salt, and who thought of lakes in profile, had ample reason to associate themselves with egrets.

## MICHOACÁN

In marked contrast to the wealth of 16th-century source material on the Valley of Mexico, information on the lake district of Michoacán is scanty. The province was relatively fortunate in its 17th-century chroniclers, but by the time these men came to write their histories there was little native culture left to write about. The Tarascan civilization was evidently as well developed as the Aztec; comparative material on ceremonials and customs is given, though briefly, by Sahagún, and

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114 of that organization. The condition of Mexican society, which
121 is commonly given as subject to a monarchical, nay, even to a despotic rule, appears from the relation of Tezozomoc as one of a military, or rather warlike community. Every feature of their military action is intimately connected with their *civil life*. I could not resist the temptation, therefore, to make the military institutions of the Mexicans, their mode of warfare, the subject of special investigation, trusting that the results of this investigation, however defective, would not be utterly useless in promoting our knowledge of the true condition of ancient aboriginal society on this continent.

105 The Mexicans proper,[1] better known as the "Aztecs" of Mexico, belonged to the highest order of sedentary or "Village" Indians. Still, *warfare*, and *not agriculture*, appears to have been their chief occupation. They were essentially a tribe of *warriors*, who, as long as they were weak and hemmed in by foes, subsisted on fish, birds, and aquatic plants,[2] while, as soon as successful sallies from the lake-centre began to extend their sway and power, the Mexicans commenced also to live, in a great measure, upon the produce and industrial resources of *subjected* tribes. During their migration, from a region lying north of the present state of Durango, in Mexico,[3] to the centre of the high table land of that republic, they had subsisted upon the scanty crops which they

[101] [1] We adhere to the appellation "Mexicans" out of deference to a custom established. —*Mexica*, or *Meritli* would be more correct. The former is used by a distinguished scholar, Señor Alfredo Chavero, of the city of Mexico. (See his "Calendario Azteca.") The etymology of the names "Azteca," "Aztlantlaca," and others, is foreign to the purpose of this essay.

[2] See Juan de Torquemada ("Los Veinte y un Libros Rituales y Monarchia Indiana "con el Origen y Guerra de los, Indios occidentales," Madrid, 1723. Barcia's reprint of the original, which appeared in 1613), Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 92 and 93, of 1st volume. (He adds that the art of fishing was unknown to the agricultural tribes of the Valley previous to the coming of the Mexicans.) Also, Fray Diego Duran (Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y Islas de Tierra firme, written about 1579-81, and published by Sr. José F. Ramirez, Mexico, 1867), vol. I, chap. IV and V.

[173] [3] Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc (Crónica Mexicana,—published in vol. IX. of Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico), chap. I, p. 5, "mas de las tierras y montes que "hoy habitan los Chichimecas, que es por Santa Barbara." Duran, in speaking of the "seven caves" (Chicomóztoc), from which the Nahuatl tribes (Mexicans included) all pretended to issue, says: "These caves are in Teoculuacan, otherwise called Aztlan, a "country which we all know to be towards the north, and connected with Florida." (Chap. I, p. 8.) "They went over and through all the country of the Chichimecas, over "the new lands and plains of Cibola." (Chap. II, p. 21.) Cibola, as it has been suggested, was the name given to Zuñi, a pueblo still extant in New Mexico. (See "His- "torie of the Great and Mightie Kingdom of China, and the situation thereof, etc., etc.," translated from the Spanish of the Padre Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza (1588), by R. Parke, and republished by the Hacklurt Society, in its volume of 1853. (2 volumes.) Zuñi: "the Spaniards do call it Cibola."